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ABSTRACT

The paper includes a critical analysis of the conceptualization and measurement of the traditional and nontraditional categories of sex-role orientation along with a redefinition of those categories which parallels deCharms's (1968) categories of origin/pawn. This operational definition was applied to a small-group study which found that, as hypothesized, women with the nontraditional orientation, as identified by their thought samples, were significantly more assertive in group discussion tasks than women with the traditional orientation. The manner by which the thought samples were scored and the characteristic differences between the stories of the "traditional" and "nontraditional" women are also discussed. (Author)

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A Re-examination of Female Sex-role Orientation

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This paper will present a critical analysis of the conceptualization and measurement of the traditional and non-traditional categories of female sex-role orientation; a re-definition of those categories which parallels Richard deCharm's (1968) categories of origin/pawn and emphasizes personal causation rather than sex-role by examining locus of causation rather than gender-based attitudes and behaviors; a report of the application of this operational definition to a small-group experiment.

Theoretical framework

Studies of sex-role orientation, or the extent to which women have or have not internalized society's sex-typed standards of desirable behavior for men and women, have typically divided women into two categories -- traditional and non-traditional. Having internalized societal expectations, the "traditional" woman will behave in a manner consistent with these expectations, whereas the woman who has not internalized these expectations will behave in a characteristically different manner.

Since Mead's (1949) equation of career-orientation with the non-traditional sex-role, efforts to distinguish between women with the traditional versus the non-traditional orientation have commonly incorporated a masculine/feminine trait or career/home dichotomy (Horner, 1972; Tangri, 1972; Alper, 1973, 1974). Emphasis has been placed upon the sorts of goals sought (is it successful marriage and motherhood or successful career?), and the sorts of rewards incurred

To the extent that women indicate that they seek to enter traditionally masculine fields, to the extent that they appear to be competitive, to the extent that they choose career over responsibility for family and others, to this extent women have been considered to be non-traditional in sex-role orientation.

In the last decade societal expectations particularly for middle-class, college-educated women have drastically changed; the role of homemaker and child-rearer is no longer generally valued. Women face (consciously or not) increasing societal pressure to reject this traditional role and to seek occupations and independence outside of home and family. It is expected that women will "want" and "do" more than they have in the past. As social values change expectations regarding appropriate behavior also change. At one time in our social history career-orientation and the commensurate "masculine" traits and attitudes may well have been adequate indicators of the degree to which women had internalized the range of sex-typed standards of attitudes and behaviors; but in view of changing social expectations and values, it is questionable whether these operational definitions of sex-role orientation are still useful and adequate.

We are not questioning the validity of the conceptual distinction between the traditional and non-traditional sex-role orientations. What is in question, however, is the validity of measures of sex-role orientation which examine specific goals and attitudes in isolation from the total experience of individuals. We are maintaining that the difference

between the traditional and non-traditional orientations is not as simple as whether or not a woman is "career-oriented", or whether or not she chooses a traditionally "masculine" occupation as opposed to a traditionally "feminine" one. Rather, what is important is the reason the goals are chosen and the way they are pursued. Is the behavior simply a response to contemporary social expectations and values regarding appropriate behavior, or is it active and intentional? Do women choose their goals because they have internalized social definitions of what they should do and how they should do it, or are their choices and actions based upon a personal assessment of their present situations, responsibilities, abilities, interests, hopes, and fears? That is, do women act or react; do they choose to move or are they moved?

In a changing social milieu, we propose that "personal causation" (deCharms, 1968), or the role of the woman in defining and reaching her goals rather than the nature of the goals sought, is the most basic characteristic distinguishing the non-traditional from the traditional sex-role orientation. Essentially we are maintaining that the woman with the non-traditional orientation is an "origin", originating her own behavior irregardless of societal definitions of appropriate sex-role behavior whereas the woman with the traditional orientation is a "pawn" to such standards. When speaking of the difference between origin- and pawn-like behavior deCharms (1976) states:

> Striving within a personally meaningful context has come to be the central core of being an Origin ...An Origin sets his (sic) own goals and determines the actions that he must take to realize his goals.
>
> The Pawn feels pushed around by external forces because he has not chosen his own path and charted his own course through these forces. The Origin may be no more objectively free of the external forces, but he does not allow them to determine his ultimate goals. He determines the goals and within the meaningful context of his goals he consistently strives to mold the external forces to help him attain his goals.

Our conceptual definition of the traditional non-traditional sex-role orientations parallels the pawn/origin concept. The woman with the traditional orientation accepts and seeks goals because others expect that she do so, because they will bring approval, or in some instances, out of default because of a reluctance to compete, a reluctance based upon an accepted sense of inferiority or fear of rejection. On the other hand, the woman with the non-traditional orientation rejects the pawn-like role in favor of personal causality. She originates her behavior, accepting personal responsibility for defining and seeking goals despite the social disapproval or rejection which she may confront. The non-traditional orientation is basically a rejection of the notion of "sex-role", of the idea that standards of behavior can be assigned by a source extrinsic to self.

Conceptually then, the traditional orientation is distinctly different from the non-traditional orientation. This uniqueness, however, cannot be determined by the nature of the goal sought. A goal which falls into a traditionally "feminine" area, such as teaching or

parenting, need not imply a traditional orientation. Similarly, the woman who chooses a traditionally "masculine" occupation may be operating within the framework of a highly traditional orientation as it is defined.

We believe that this conceptual distinction allows us to begin to understand how the internalization of social expectations influence the ways women view themselves, as individuals and in relation to others. The important thing is that the effects of these expectations can go far beyond prescribed occupational choice; that this is so is borne out by the literature.

The traditional sex-role and female behavior

In 1973 Wiley stated that traditional sex-roles in American society imply that males should be aggressive, assertive, domineering, and task-oriented; females should be passive, submissive, nurturant, and socially-oriented. The internalization of the female role is evident in numerous studies which document behavioral differences between men and women. In general, female behavior as compared to male behavior is described as non-assertive, non-competitive, socially oriented, deferential, passive, and conforming.

Terman and Miles (1936) found women to be compassionate, sympathetic, and fastidious, while males were more aggressive, self-assertive, and fearless. McGuire (1973) again found males to be more aggressive than females. Uesugi and Vinacke (1963) showed that women adopt anti-competitive attitudes and behaviors toward others more than men. Walker

and Heyns (1962) demonstrated that females respond to pleas of a partner even when the response jeopardized their own success.

Women are more concerned with establishing and maintaining harmonious relations while men are more concerned with successful completion of a task (Berg and Bass, 1961; Kagen and Moss, 1962; Exline, 1962; Strodtbeck and Mann, 1956). Females are submissive while males are dominant (Reitan and Shaw, 1964). Women are more easily persuaded to change their minds (Janis and Field, 1959), and tend to conform to group norms more than men (Beloff, 1958; Costanzo and Shaw, 1966; Reitan and Shaw, 1964; Tuddenham, 1958). Women defer to the leadership and decision-making of a male partner even when the women had higher scores in "dominance" (Megargee, 1969).

The description of the female sex role goes beyond behavioral or personality distinctions; society also maintains a stereotypic belief that men are superior to women in certain areas of cognitive functioning (Tuddenham, Macbride, and Zahn, 1958), a belief which is documented by numerous research studies. Although credited with performance equal to or better than that of males in some areas, these abilities tend not to be relevant to successful achievement in task-oriented, competitive situations requiring cognitive complexity, ability, and competence. For example, girls "excel at tasks involving rapid, fine motor adjustments, as in tests of finger dexterity and clerical aptitude" (Tyler, 1955), and are superior to males "on simple, overlearned perceptual tasks", while males are "superior on complex tasks requiring

inhibition of immediate responses to obvious stimuli" (Broverman et al., 1968).

Regardless of demonstrated competence or expertise, women are generally viewed as inferior to men in ability. Characteristics ascribed to men -- competence, rationality, and assertiveness -- are positively valued by both males and females more often than the characteristics of warmth and expressiveness which are ascribed to women. These traits are associated with achievement and success and both men and women view achievement and success as male traits (Veroff, 1953).

In a society which values the task-oriented achievement behavior normally associated with "masculinity", the attribution of "inferior" traits and characteristics to females affects the self-perception of females. Though many studies of males and females ostensibly address themselves to male and female behavior as the result of role expectations, the findings are gender specific and constitute the way women view themselves and are viewed by others in society.

Attempts have been made to explain that female characteristics are not inferior but simply different (McClelland, 1965). Within our cultural context these explanations are merely feeble semantic rationalizations which are not shared by the majority of males or females. Women have been described in terms of inferiority to men and this perception of inferiority is shared by both men and women.

Women evaluate work attributed to men higher than that attributed to women (Goldberg, 1968). Women describe themselves as kind, patient, uncertain, anxious, and dull (Freeman, 1970). Turner and Turner (1974) asked women and men to evaluate males and females with regard to competence and ability. Both males and females rated males higher in both areas. Rosen and Jerdee (1974) examined the effect of sex on the acquisition of jobs which demanded either assertive, independent behavior or dependability and clerical accuracy. Women were rated lower than men in all categories for both sorts of jobs. Male and female college students portray the "ideal woman" as less competent than the "ideal man"; and male and female mental health professionals tend to see mature, healthy women as more submissive, less competitive, more emotional than mature, healthy men (Broverman et al., 1972).

Lower self-esteem is translated into lower expectancy of success. Even if females have more prior achievement than males, their expectancy of success is lower than that of males. Anticipating failure, females pick up on negative cues while men focus primarily on cues which relate to success (Crandall, 1969). When confronted with success, women are less likely than men to attribute it to their own abilities; rather, they rely more upon luck as a causal explanation for both success and failure (Horner, 1972).

The lack of self-esteem is the cornerstone of the traditional female sex-role. The traditional sex-role behavior --i.e. deference, passivity, submissiveness, dependency -- is primarily characterized

by the subordination of self to extrinsically imposed expectations and standards.

As the literature demonstrates, women consistently behave in a passive and deferential manner in groups and adopt a socio-emotional rather than a task function. Since many studies indicate that these characteristically "feminine" behaviors are closely related to perceived or ascribed inferiority (Costanza and Shaw, 1968; Singer and Shockley, 1965; Kelley, 1951; Thibaut, 1950), and since women are generally characterized as inferior, particularly in task situations, we hypothesized that women's behavior would be related to their sex-role orientation.

Method

A small-group experiment was designed to test the hypothesis that the behavior of women with the non-traditional orientation would be more "assertive" in a task-group situation than that of women with the traditional orientation.

The sample consisted of thirty white women, between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five, with an expressed interest in education either in a professional or non-professional capacity. The women were married, divorced, or single; with and without children; employed and unemployed; with and without professional experience. Their educational level ranged from slightly less than the A.B. to the master's degree.

Application of our measure of sex-role orientation

To indentify traditional and non-traditional subjects, each

participant was asked to write three short stories (four minutes each) in response to one picture and two sentence cues. The cues in sequence were: (1) "A young woman is knocking on a door..."; (2) A picture of a young woman sitting in a chair with a book in her hands. She is in the middle of a cluttered room and a child is sitting on the floor at her feet with her back to the viewer (Appendix 1) (3) " A young woman is graduating. Describe the next ten years of her life.

Each three-story protocol was scored and sixteen subjects, those with the extreme high and low scores were chosen to participate in a small-group discussion task.

The "origin" scoring system developed by Plimpton (deCharms et al., 1976) served as the basis for identifying subjects with the non-traditional orientation. The content analysis incorporates six conceptual categories: internal control, goal setting, instrumental activity, reality perception, personal responsibility, and self-confidence. (For a detailed explanation of the categories and the scoring method, see deCharms et al., 1976; for a brief description of the categories, see Appendix 2.)

Lacking a separate scoring system for "pawn","traditional" scores were based upon six parallel categories: extrinsic control, absence of goals, absence of instrumental activity in response to a perceived need, unrealistic perception of reality, disavowal of personal responsibility, and anticipation of failure.

Each participant's protocol allowed for a maximum score of 18 points: +18, non-traditional; -18, traditional. A score of 0 was also possible if none of the scoring elements was present or as a result of the combination of positive and negative scores.

Findings

The mean protocol score for traditional subjects was -7, for non-traditional, +11.7.

Traditional and non-traditional subject profiles were similar. The average traditional subject had completed 16.5 years of schooling in comparison with 17 years for the non-traditional. Over 80% of both the traditional and non-traditional subjects were employed on a full or part-time basis.

Subjects also completed a 19-item attitude questionnaire based upon Spence's (1974) Personal Attitude Questionnaire (PAQ). Items included focused on socio-emotional versus task orientation, independence versus passivity, confidence, and leadership perference. On a five-point scale, scores for traditionals were 69.2, and for non-traditionals, 72.9.

Subjects were randomly assigned to one of four six-member task groups*.

* The experiment was designed to examine variations in behavior between all-female and mixed-sex conditions. Two of the groups used two male control subjects and the other two groups used two female control subjects. For our purposes here, we have not reported on variations between the two conditions, though the data in Table 1 reflects these differences (Dungy, Glenn, Luecking, Osterman, 1977, unpublished).

The groups were asked to view a five-minute simulation film and at its completion to decide on a course of action in order to resolve the problem presented in the film.

During the thirty-minute discussion period, observers counted the frequency of subject responses and classified them according to pre-established behavioral categories corresponding to task and socio-emotional functions as delineated by Bales (1951).

The operational definition of assertiveness was limited to the total frequency of "I" statements made in the context of the group discussion. Scoring categories included: giving opinions, suggestions, orientation; asking for opinions, suggestions, orientation; reacting to ideas of others.

As predicted, subjects with the non-traditional sex-role orientation did have a higher frequency of "I" statements than subjects with the traditional orientation in both experimental conditions. (Insert Table 1)

At the completion of the group discussions, all participants completed a questionnaire which examined their feelings about the group experience. Questions were scored on a five-point scale from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree). Although the differences in responses were not significant, direction was as expected. Traditional subjects tended to feel that they knew less about the problem initially than others even though the competence of all subjects had been stressed in the introduction to the experimental task and none of the subjects had had any direct experience with the particular problem posed.

Non-traditionals indicated that they felt more comfortable presenting and defending their own opinions and placed less emphasis on the importance of getting acquainted prior to the task situation than did traditional subjects. (Insert Table 2)

Participants were also asked to identify the leader of their group if they felt that one had emerged. Leaders were identified in three of the four groups. Each one of the nominees had been categorized as non-traditional.

Discussion

The adequacy of the study itself is limited by the size of the sample. However, the findings provide evidence that the modified origin/pawn measure is successful in discriminating among women and that the differences relate to behavioral differences characteristic of the traditional and non-traditional sex-role orientation.

The use of the origin/pawn system for scoring thought samples allows for differentiation between traditional and non-traditional stories on the basis of more than simply occupational goal sought. The origin/pawn concept is not restricted to specific goals,

> but rather is an orientation toward the pursuit of goals of any and all kinds... (T)he most prominent characteristic (of the origin) is the elaboration of goal seeking behavior. The goal can be anything. Stories (are) classified not as to what type of goal was mentioned but who determined the goal and how a person went about reaching his goal (deCharms et al., 1976).

Because the emphasis is not solely upon what is sought, but also upon why and how it is sought, the origin/pawn scoring system allows us to

distinguish those women who appear through their stories to accept and pursue goals considered to be "appropriate" by sources extrinsic to self from those who do not.

Thought Samples

The content analysis of the thought samples written by the research participants presents a striking picture of the differences in how women perceive themselves and others, in their feelings of capability in efrecting their environment, and the manner by which they make decisions. In their stories, women with the traditional orientation expressed inability to handle situations which confronted them in terms of fear, anxiety, frustration, or passivity. Their stories shifted responsibility for their plight to others, be it fate, children, society, or husbands. If goals were mentioned, they were unspecific or unrealistic, and commonly futures were left to chance. The stories written by non-traditional subjects were similar in content, but the action and atmosphere were noticeably different. The characters were capable and willing to tackle and solve -- often with levity -- the problems which confronted them. Goals were clearly defined and their pursuit was realistic and successful. Psychologically, the stories contrast women who are burdened beyond their capacity to respond with women whose concerns and activities are self-defined, successful, and progressive. To differing degrees the same themes appear again and again.

For the first thought sample, subjects responded to the sentence cue: "A young woman is knocking on a door..." In these stories women with the traditional orientation commonly view themselves as unable to

achieve their purpose, incapable of modifying the situation in the intended manner. The self is seen as subject to the manipulations of others and others are viewed as being as fearful and full of anxiety as one's self:

> She begins to pound, harder, faster, suddenly screaming "help, I need help". The older woman carefully peers through the tiny peephole,drained by the thought of an emergency on her doorstep. She sees fear and anxiety on the blown-up face meeting hers.

In many of these stories, we see the woman acting adaptively to the responses of others, allowing the situation to be defined by their responses rather than by her intentions. In turn, the other is unaffected by the subject's behavior:

> The door opens, there's an old man inside. He looks bedraggled. The knocking woke him up. The woman, embarrassed, asks him if he'd be interested in participating in a survey. He just glares at her, saying nothing. She smiles self-consciously and leaves.

In the non-traditional stories, on the other hand, the women are portrayed as capable of affecting the needed modification of the situation -- of acting with agency. For example:

> As I was doing my routine duties, I heard a knock on the door. When I opened it I saw that a very pregant young lady was standing there looking very distressed. Being a nurse, I quickly understood that her labor had begun and she was unable to drive her car. So she had stopped at the nearest house for help. Yuck, I really didn't want to deliver the baby but I'd had my morning coffee, so I would.

The women in the non-traditional stories anticipate their own success; they know they will do what's required to handle the situation at hand:

> She is selling encyclopedias. She is thinking about her sales pitch and psyching herself up... She wants to sell the encyclopedias. She enjoys meeting people. She has learned a good deal. She will make a good initial impression. She will deliver the sales pitch and will get a solid commitment of purchase -- she will sell it. Her sales record is excellent and she will soon be considered for a position as district representative.

The second cue pictured a woman and child in a messy room (appendix 1). In the "traditional" responses a good deal of anger and frustration on the part of the adult is commonly apparent. The mother quite often wishes the child would go away and quit demanding her attention, but steps are not taken so that this will occur and the woman just continues to seethe:

> The child is very bored and wishes the mother would play with her, but the mother is reading and doesn't want to be bothered. The mother wishes the child would just go outside and play and stop sitting there looking so forlorn. She needs to be more independent, she can't depend on me to entertain her all the time. I need my life too.

Contrast that story to this one written by a non-traditional subject:

> I'm supposed to be reading but I can't seem to concentrate. Sandy is being so helpful, sitting there playing so quietly. I should play with her; I don't seem to be giving her much time lately..."Sandy, how would you like it if we read a story?" (ten minutes later) Now, I'd better get back to my reading. That few minutes really did it -- I feel better and so does she.

In stories such as these the woman views the child's need for attention as well as her own need for uninterrupted time in which to work as legitimate. She accepts responsibility for providing for the child's needs, does so, and then "gets back to work". That is, she modifies the situation so that her intentions can be realized.

Quite often, in traditionals' stories, the messy room was seen to be descriptive of the woman's emotional state, indicative of her inability to "cope with what is happening" to her:

> The mother seems to be slovenly about herself, her surroundings, but especially her child. She is reading, but it seems to be a form of escape. She doesn't seem to be able to cope with what is happening to her. She obviously needs someone to talk with and to get out of her house before she drives herself and everyone else crazy.

In the non-traditionals' stories, on the other hand, the "mess" in the room is not personally disturbing. Commonly, the woman simply takes the steps necessary to restore order. If the child is viewed as responsible for it, the child is also viewed as capable of taking care of it. That is, the child (or other) is also viewed as an agent:

> I came hope from work to chaos. It was like a storm had ripped through the living room. I assumed that the children had had a marvelous afternoon. Sinking to the sofa, I kicked off my shoes.My daughter entered..."You seem to have had a rambunctious time today," I commented. She told me about the game and I told her about the cleaning up she could do with or without the help of her friends. I picked up a book and settled down to relax before dinner.

The distinguishing difference between traditional and non-traditional stories written to this cue is, again, the presence or absence of feelings of agency -- of the ability of adults and children to affect

situations responsibly and intentionally. It is the difference between this non-traditional story about building and solar collector:

> A wonderful Sunday, woman and girl are enjoying some of their seldom found leisure time. They had been relaxing near each other but doing independent projects. Now the woman has come across a wonderful article on how to build a solar collector for their house. She is reading it to the girl so they can decide if they want to tackle the project. After they discuss it they will inventory their supplies and go give it a try.

and this traditional one about a child begging her mother to tell her a story:

> Mother starts to read a story. Child: "I want you to tell me a story." "Tell you a story? I can't tell you a story," fear causing the blood to pound at her temples. "Why can't you?" "It's just not done anymore. People read the same stories to their children that were read to them."

"People read the same stories to their children that were read to them"; the implication perhaps being that "I do to you what I've had done to me", habitually, unintentionally, and maybe a bit sadly. The idea of doing "what's not done anymore" causing"blood to pourd at the temples" is perhaps the extreme case of the traditional orientation, but it illustrates the difference the orinetation makes to what one does -- and does not do.

The third cue, the sentence, "A young woman is graduating, describe the next ten years of her life", was designed to evoke specific statements about future goals and plans for realizing them. Again, the differences among the stories are striking. The distinguishing

characteristic of the traditional stories is, once more, the portrayal of the woman as ineffectual, quite often as unhappy, "confused", "wondering what to do next":

> She goes from one job to another looking for that perfect opportunity. During the time she marries and continues looking. As she reaches 30, she wonders about a family. Here she questions her goals -- parent or career woman, or both?
>
> She marries and assumes the life of wife and mother. Somewhere around the tenth year she finds herself either divorced or unhappy because she has unfulfilled emotions that she is having trouble dealing with. She feels a need to accomplish something, to leave her own mark that she was here.
>
> The first year is filled with frustration. She has had someone to tell her what to do, what to think, and what to feel for so many years. Now she has to rely on her own strengths. What are they? She never had much responsibility for herself -- she was cared for. She wants it now, but is confused on how to take it.

Whether the woman "finds herself divorced", or "goes from one job to another ... continuing to look", the feeling portrayed is one of passivity, of lack of agency. The stories convey a sense of literally being pulled apart, of wanting this and wanting that, but having no notion of what to do. The non-traditional stories present quite a different picture of how the women go about leading their lives; they are active, decisive, determined. They take responsibility for the choices they make; they act intentionally:

> She has chosen a major to her liking and planned for a career. She enters the career, works hard and enjoys it; meets people, considers marriage several times, but waits. Finally, she feels old

> and stable and sure enough and chooses to marry about the same time she starts to make a career change she has been contemplating. She decides to have a child and postpones the career change for a year.
>
> So much ahead of her...Exciting...Challenging... Scary...Frightening...She was determined to be a full, loving, self-actualizing person. No motherhood versus the business-world for her. She realized that mixing the lives would be challenging, but if accomplished would be exciting and beautiful. She was clever and fortunate enough to marry a man who wanted a person for a wife. The next six years were beautiful baby years...The next four were spent in exciting self-emergence.

Discussion

That the traditional sex-role orientation is the degenerate case of the non-traditional orientation can be seen if one accepts deCharm's (1968) dictum:

> Man's primary motivational propensity is to be effective in producing changes in his environment. Man strives to be a causal agent, to be the primary locus of causation for, or the origin of, his behavior; he strives for personal causation.

This is to say, as John MacMurray (1957, 1961) does, that the self has its being in its agency, in its action, in its effective interaction with the other. Following MacMurray we can also say that the person -- in this case, the woman -- who views herself not as a causal agent, not as the primary locus of causation for her own behavior, but rather as the object of others' modifications of her, has made what MacMurray calls a "categorical misconception" of her own nature as a human being. She has conceived her nature to be that of an object rather than that of an agent and as MacMurray points out, that misconception of what she

is and is not, of what she can and cannot do, affects her actions and makes them inherently self-frustrating:

> For that error then infects the form of the action in general, and not its particular content as this or that particular action. In that case, to change the objective will not remove the frustration... So long as we believe that the error lies in our choice of objective, we can try again. But this cannot continue indefinitely; the alternatives are limited. The discovery that all objectives have the same illusory character is the experience of despair (1961, p. 148).

We do not intend to imply that women with the traditional sex-role orientation are necessarily in states of despair. But, given the fact that their stories sometimes conveyed feelings of being trapped in hopeless situations ("she doesn't seem to be able to cope with what is happening to her"), and fears of being unable to "take responsibility" for one's life, depression or anxiety may be commonly related. We do think that MacMurray's description of the belief that a change in activity, a change in objective, will somehow right feelings of inadequacy is characteristic of a woman with the traditional orientation. Because she chooses goals and the manner by which she pursues them with an eye toward "what others will think", toward what "she should do", she is frustrated, dissatisfied, not becuase of the nature of the goals themselves, but because she, herself, did not decide upon them.

When we say that women with the traditional orientation act with a lack of agency, that they are modified by others, we do not mean that they go around in some sort of fog, habitually responding to the stimuli of the moment. What we do mean to say is that the decisions they make

that determine the kinds of lives they lead are made passively or reactively, are made because they are the sorts of decisions others seem to expect them to make and to follow through with. MacMurray's description of the "spectator" evokes quite graphically our view of the woman with the traditional orientation:

> Social history is a drama which unrolls itself before him (sic), and which he watches and understands. But he also has a part to play upon the stage. In his public capacity a role is assigned to him, and it is his task to play his role properly; and he can only do this by supressing his own self-expression and acting in the way that the author of the drama intended the part to be played. He must identify himself with his role -- his station and its duties -- and suppress his impulse to be himself. He can be himself only as a spectator, not as an actor.

One of the stories of a traditional subject sounds as if it was written to suit MacMurray's description:

> She silently debates which personality to pull out of her body: the bubbly extrovert of the shy innocent she falls back on when she wants to remain alone. Easing the door open on her own she sees a group of adults -- some mingling, some observing. Nobody notices her entrance. Obviously she's no intrusion. How insulting. She's not sure why she's there other than the fact that she ought to be. Actually, she'll probably have a good time. She always does, once she's figured out the "why" of being in a particular situation.

The woman portrayed is clearly the spectator playing a part in a social drama, doing what's expected but isolated from the other actors, reacting to them,but not, as MacMurray would say, in personal relationship to them. The motivation of such "acting" is, according to him, "negative", based as it is upon fear of the other:

> (Such) action is defensive and appears to be dictated by the other person...In reality it is not determined by him but by my fear of him (1961, p. 149).

The woman with the traditional orientation is fearful of what might happen, of what others might think, if one doesn't do as expected.

The story themes developed here should demonstrate that there are important differences among women (among the stories they write), that there differences relate conceptually to sex-role orientation in our society, and that these differences illuminate our understanding of the thought and behavior of women.

It is naive to think that only women with the traditional sex-role orientation suffer the constraints of societal expectations of appropriate behavior. As members of society we all -- men and women alike -- are so constrained. But some more than others. We have attempted through the stories to communicate the effects that feelings of a lack of agency, a lack of the ability to affect one's own life, have upon what women do, upon their relationships with others (in this case, with their children), and upon how they feel. We have tried to demonstrate that the distinction we have made between the traditional and non-traditional sex-role orientation is far more fundamental than that commonly used in discussions of sex-role orientation. The issue is not one of "career versus home and family". Rather, the issue is the difference between the experience of acting with agency, of originating one's own behavior, of modifying one's own environment intentionally, and the experience of acting with a lack of agency, with a lack of purposiveness,

a lack of intention. It is the difference between being a spectator of a social drama as compared with being the playwrite, or at least a significant cast member.

Importance

Both women and men have historically been constrained by societal expectations of what is and is not appropriate behavior and attitudes. The internalization of the set of expectations that has traditionally defined what women may do and how they should do it constitutes the traditional sex-role orientation. In the last decade societal expectations, particularly for middle-class, college-educated women, have drastically changed. It is now expected that they will "want" and "do" more than women have in the past. Such alterations of sex-typed standards of goal choice and pursuit are only "liberating" insofar as one rigid set is not replaced by another equally rigid set. So long as women look to sources extrinsic to self for judgments of what is and is not appropriate behavior, their abilities and self-esteem are effected, and they remain traditional in their sex-role orientation. It is only when women rely on self to determine activity and direction -- regardless of what it may be -- that they are non-traditional in their orientation.

The application of the origin/pawn concept, which emphasizes locus of causation rather than sex-role definitions, allows us to move away from the imposition of newly-defined, but perhaps equally rigid expectations, by identifying psychological variables which affect the attitudes

and behavior of women. By so doing, it can serve as a useful and effective tool to contribute to the self-awareness, personal growth and development of women at all stages of life.

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Table 1: Mean Scores of Traditional and Non-Traditional Subjects in Female and Mixed-Sex Groups in Category 1a, "I-Statements."

	F	M
T	3.0	2.0
NT	7.8	4.8

Two-Way ANOVA

	df	SS	MS	F
Between T-NT[1]	1	14.44	14.44	18.255**
Between F-M [1]	1	4.00	4.00	
Interaction	1	1.00	1.00	
Residual			.791	
Between	3	78.15	26.05	8.80*
Within	12	35.60	2.96	
Total	15	113.75		

[1]Calculated using formula for ANOVA with disproportionate cell entries.

* Significant at $p < .01$

** Significant at $p < .01$

Table 2. Responses of traditional and non-traditional subjects on selected questionnaire items. (1=strongly agree, 5=strongly disagree)

	T ($\bar{x}$)	NT ($\bar{x}$)	$\bar{x}$ difference
Q. I knew less about the problem initially than others.	3.6	4.5	0.9
Q. I felt very comfortable presenting or defending my opinions.	2.5	1.5	1.0
Q. It would have been better if we had had time to get to know each other first.	3.0	4.3	1.3

Appendix 1

Appendix 2

Origin Scoring System: Six Conceptual Categories, A Brief Description

1. Internal Control: the inclusive concept of internal locus of causality: the feeling of being in control of what is happening in and around oneself; the intention, will or decision to act or not to act comes from within the individual.

2. Goal Setting: internally caused decision to act specifically in order to attain a definite goal.

3. Instrumental activity: internally caused activity instrumental to the attainment of a stated or inferred goal.

4. Reality Perception: the ability to perceive one's position accurately in one's environment; recognition of strengths, weaknesses, possibilities, cause-effect relationships; accommodation and assimilation to the demands of the situation.

5. Personal Responsibility: the willingness to assume responsibility for the consequences of one's actions and the willingness to assume "social responsibility", for others, group, community, etc.

6. Self-confidence: confidence in one's ability to succeed as a change agent in one's environment; striving and faith in self-actualization.